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ABSTRACT

The rapid and still-accelerating increase in the world's population, especially in developing nations, will have a number of serious economic, social, and ecological consequences for the whole world. Germany is attempting to help solve these problems by providing family planning and poverty alleviation assistance to developing nations. German assistance in these areas is being directed against the following problems: maternal mortality and the status of children, children who have children, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, and unplanned pregnancies. Germany is also assisting with rural development efforts in the following ways: agricultural development programs to produce sufficient food, economic development and urbanization programs to improve chances of survival, rural development programs to raise standards of living, and self-help programs for small farmers and women to ensure regional food security and improve family health. Population policy/family planning has become a priority in the German government's development policy, and Germany is working with a number of partners to pursue a double strategy of family planning and development that is aimed directly at improving individual life and self-realization. (Lists of 14 organizations and 18 publications concerned with family planning and population control are included.) (MN)

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Population growth and family planning

by

Thomas Heisse

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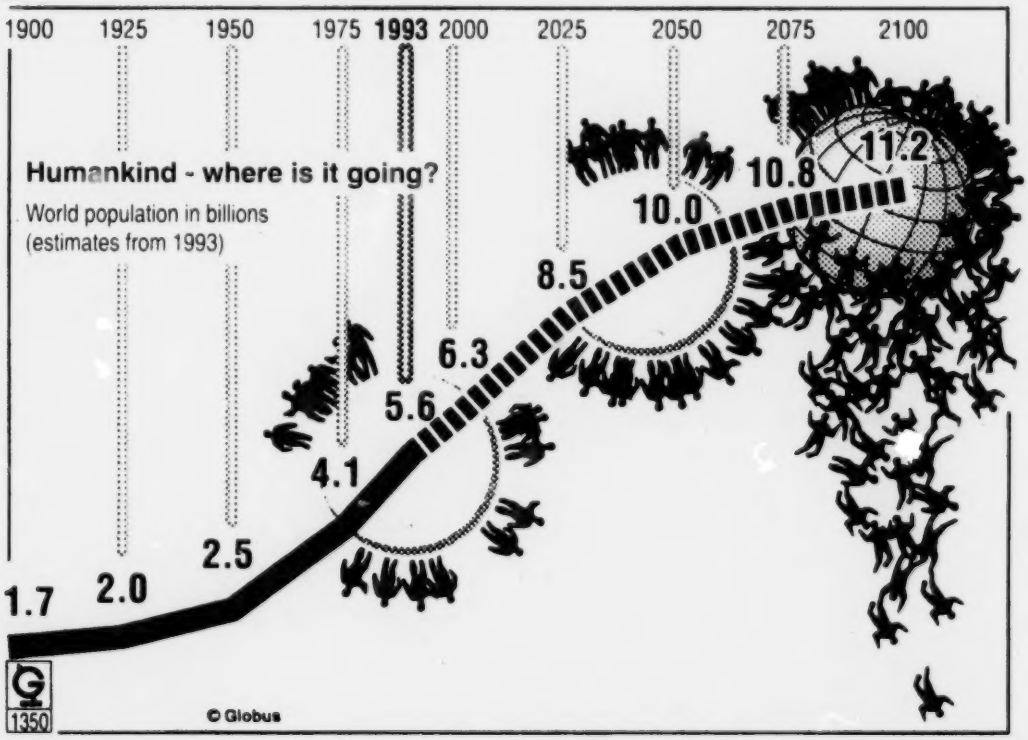
I. The growth of the world population

Introduction

When hundreds of representatives of governments and non-governmental organisations gather in Cairo in September this year for the 3rd World Population Conference, they will have to deal with one of the most momentous problems of our time: the rapid and still accelerating increase of the world's population, especially in the so-called Third World. Never before in the history of humankind has the world population grown so quickly. Whoever was born at the turn of the last century experienced to 1965 a doubling of the global population from about 1.6 billion to 3.3 billion. And whoever was born after 1945 will see a tripling of the world population from about 2.4 billion to more than 7.5 billion. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) reckons with a total of about 10 billion people in 2100. At present, the world has a population of about 5.5 billion. By the time of the Cairo conference it will probably have grown by another 60-70 million or so. The media speak sensationally of a real "population explosion".



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Growth and geographical distribution

"The worldwide population growth rate since 1975 of about 1.7 per cent a year has remained essentially the same. Fertility in fact declined. It dropped from 3.8 births per woman of child-bearing age between 1970 and 1975 to 3.3 births between 1990 and 1995. But because of the previous growth the number of additional people every year is still growing. In 1975 annual growth was about 72 million. In 1992 it was 93 million. The greatest increase, with about 98 million a year, is to be expected between 1995 and 2000.

The speed of population growth is therefore now as before the crucial aspect of the global population problems and will - at least in the next 20 years - also remain so. The world population, which in 1993 was 5.5 billion, is forecast to grow to 6.2 billion in 2000, to 8.5 billion in 2025 and to 10 billion in 2050. There will also probably be subsequent significant growth rates, and the world population will not settle down to a relatively stable figure of about 11.6 billion people until from 2150.

The share of the developing countries in this growth increased from 77 per cent in 1950 to 93 per cent in 1990. From today until the end of the century it will be 95 per cent, with Africa and Asia alone accounting for 53 per cent.

About 3.3 billion people lived in Asia in mid-1993. By 2025 there will be 4.9 billion, a figure equal to the entire world population in 1986. In Africa, where currently 700 million people live, there will be a population of 1.6 billion. Latin America's present population of 466 million will then be 700 million.

However, this worldwide overview conceals great differences between individual countries and regions. The following examples make this clear:

Estimated annual growth between 1990 and 1995 is 3 per cent for Africa, 1.9 per cent for Asia and 2.1 per cent for Latin America. The largest growth rates will be recorded quite preponderantly in the poorest countries.

In the 47 countries which the United Nations classifies as "least developed" (LDCs), the share of worldwide population growth in 1950 was 7 per cent. But in 1990 it was already 13 per cent.

Life expectancy in East Asia has increased by 30 years during the last four decades, but in Africa, where 30 of the 47 LDCs are located, by only 15 years.

During the same period, fertility in East Asia has decreased by about 60 per cent, in South Asia by only about 25 percent and hardly at all in Africa.

Maternal mortality has halved in East Asia, but remains essentially the same in South Asia and Africa.

Among the developing countries, those in East Asia and the Caribbean show the lowest growth rates of 1.3 per cent. The East Asian rates reflect essentially the situation in China, which accounts for 85 per cent of the region. In Central and South America, Southeast and South Asia, and southern Africa, the growth rates are 2-2.5 per cent. In West Asia and North Africa they are 2.5-3 per cent, while in the rest of Africa they are more than 3 per cent.

The greatest differences in population development are those between the industrial nations of Europe and North America on one side and the rest of the world on the other. Population growth in the industrial countries has slowed or stopped. The fertility rate has dropped to reproduction level or even below it. The population of these countries grew by about 43 per cent between 1950 and 1990, while that of the LDCs increased by about 162 per cent and that of the other developing countries by about 140 per cent. This gap will grow further. Population figures in Europe and Africa south of the Sahara, each of which had 480 million people in 1985 and were approximately equal, will be 500 million to 1.5 billion in 2025.

Asia today accounts for 59 per cent of the world population, Latin America 9 per cent and Africa 12 per cent. According to estimates, Africa's share will increase to 19 per cent by 2025, while that of the other regions will remain approximately the same. Within Asia, the proportions are gradually shifting. While at present 37 per cent of the Asian population lives in China, the figure in 2025 will be only 31 per cent. But India's share will grow from 27 per cent to 29 per cent."

From the World Population Report of the UNFPA, 1993.

Population growth: the consequences

The fast population growth in the Third World will have economic, social and ecological consequences for the whole world, and above all for the affected regions, of previously unknown dimensions. The modest prosperity achieved so arduously at some places could be consumed again by a too-rapidly growing population. Future development chances would also be impaired. It is true that also in the past people were faced again and again with the problems of regional "over-population". They reacted to them with economic adjustments, changes to the social structure and above all with migration movements. Without local and regional demographic pressures people would hardly have

spread themselves over the whole world, including its most desolate regions. Today, however, the Earth is inhabited to its last corner. High immigration could give rise to social conflicts in the host country, e.g. when the immigrants put additional pressure on the labour market or ethnic, language and cultural differences between them and the resident population lead to tension.

People have always left their homelands in the search for a better life. Expanding national economies, for example, have always had a big vortex effect. But never before have migration movements had such a dimension as now. One hundred million people, or about 2 per cent of the world population, according to the UNFPA, are at present living in another country. This figure encompasses politically persecuted refugees, war refugees, legal work migrants and, in particular, people who seek better perspectives for their lives in foreign lands. Migration still takes place mainly between developing countries. But an ever growing number of people is pressing out of the developing countries into the rich centres of the North.

Population pressure and the overtaxing of natural resources that is connected with it are one cause of the migration movements. Warlike conflicts, political persecution and the widening prosperity gap between developing and industrial countries are further causes. But while in the 1950s and 1960s most of the host countries still had a demand for foreign workers, their readiness and capability to receive them has diminished noticeably in recent decades.

Finally, the rapid population growth in developing countries of the South is increasingly causing environmental destruction. The over-exploitation of natural resources endangers not only the preservation of the foundations of life for coming generations in the developing countries themselves. It also contributes with an ever growing share to worldwide "climate disaster".

Poverty alleviation

Mass poverty will be a question of survival for all because of its close inner connection and reciprocity with the population explosion in the countries of the South, the destruction of the natural foundations of life, the existential threat posed by hunger and a shortage of water, and the migration movements caused by these phenomena. German development policy must adapt itself in worldwide fundamental efforts to help secure the chances for survival and the preservation of Creation in all regions of the Earth.

Alleviation of mass poverty in the developing countries is more and more being seen internationally as the main task of development cooperation. We know today, better than we did earlier, that there is not an automatic reduction of poverty with the hoped-for economic progress of the developing countries, but that purposeful and differentiated measures are required. These include the serious will to succeed on the part of all participants (politicians, specialists and the poor themselves), in the North and South because it is not about a mere technical question.

The number of people in the developing countries that live below the poverty line - i.e. who do not have the minimum of income required to cover their food needs and meet their other basic needs - is estimated to total 1.1 billion. According to absolute figures, this total will probably hardly be lower in 2000, despite different development in individual regions. Sixty per cent of the poor are women.

The causes of poverty are diverse. Social, economic, cultural, political and ecological determining factors are inseparably tied up with each other. Poverty is also to be seen in connection with a lack of freedom, uprootal, migration and the decline of traditional social structures. Therefore in the long run it cannot be alleviated or elim-

inated without structural and functional changes to systems.

Developing and industrial countries are today largely agreed that a breakthrough for the reduction of mass poverty can only be achieved when:
- efforts to alleviate poverty are strengthened;
- economic, political and social general conditions are created which at the international level do not disadvantage the developing countries, and in a national context create structures which improve the chances of the poor;
- the poor are given the possibility to develop their creative and productive capabilities and participate in economic and social life; that also includes access to important services and means of production (e.g. education, health, land, credit).

For the German Federal government, poverty alleviation is the priority target of its development policy. The forms of poverty reduction are diverse. Structural reforms are of prime importance because they get at the causes and offer a guarantee of sustainable improvements. These measures include, for example, democratic structures, decentralisation, tax reform, poverty-oriented budget design, and finance and credit systems. The Federal government's instruments are *inter alia* political dialogue, government advisers and support of structural adjustment and sectoral programmes. The objective of poverty alleviation is also considered in the shaping of international economic relations.

Alongside structural reforms, the government purposefully promotes development projects which have a direct or indirect bearing on poverty alleviation. A core area is participation-oriented help for self-help. Participatory promotion is given above all to groups which start self-help activities on their own initiative, often supported by non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Poverty alleviation has a wide range of application in all promotional areas. Good employment possibilities exist *inter alia* in protection of the environment and resources, rural development, the education system and the promotion of private economic development. The government carries on a dialogue with German and foreign NGOs on targets, principles and methods of poverty reduction, as the organisations in this field have a rich store of experience.

If it is possible to reduce poverty, one of the most important causes of over-population and thereby the worldwide refugee flows and migration movements, as well as a source of environmental degradations, will be brought under control at the same time.

II. Population growth and health - assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany

The desire for planned parenthood is by no means only one of the notions exported from modern western culture. In almost all pre-colonial cultures there were once society-specific rules on limiting births. Thus girls, for example, learned at their intiation rites to recognise their fertile days. Long nursing periods prevented pregnancies following each other too frequently.

Infant mortality, life expectancy

There are, however, still considerable differences between individual regions. Improved health and hygienic conditions, as well as better nutrition, have led in most developing countries to a clear increase in life expectancy. Infant mortality has dropped. At the same time, the birth rate has remained almost steady or declined only slightly.

Maternal mortality and importance of children

The rapid increase of the population, which *inter alia* was possible because of the beneficial impacts of modern medicine, is also accompanied by bad health conditions and mother-and-child mortality. About half a million mothers die every year during pregnancy or confinement. Every year, 300,000 women die in South and West Asia, 150,000 in Africa, 31,000 in Latin America, and 12,000 in East Asia without the world taking notice. The entire tragedy is clear when one realises that in the industrial countries today only 1-2 per cent of all deaths of women aged 15-44 are connected with pregnancy and childbirth. In Africa, however, the figure is 45 per cent.

Children have mostly a special status in the everday life of families in the developing countries, and the standing of women is closely tied in with that. In some areas of Africa, a woman who "fails" several times because of miscarriages suffers the disdain of the people around her. Especially in the poorest population groups, a big family means not only respect, but also the securing of economic survival. Boys and girls must carry out light work such as collecting firewood or fetching water at the early ages of five to eight. As adults they will be responsible for the livelihoods of their parents.

Children who have children

Conditioned not least by the liberalisation of sexual norms, the number of teenage pregnancies and illegitimate births is rising. But school-age pregnancies are especially risky. Of young mothers aged under 15, no fewer than 1,700 of them die during pregnancy or childbirth for every 100,000 live births. Within the framework of its development cooperation, Germany therefore supports the efforts of the Central African Republic government to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies and stem the spread of sexually transmitted diseases among young people. In

Bangui, the country's rapidly-growing capital, a routine survey by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) - which implements many German development projects on-site on behalf of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) - found that in sixth form classes 7.78 per cent of the girls were pregnant, 5.27 per cent had already had a miscarriage and 16.52 per cent an abortion. Almost one-quarter (23.36 per cent) already had one child, 12.06 per cent had two children, and 4.02 per cent had three. Random checks on the spread of sexually transmitted diseases found that 59.64 per cent of the boys and girls had venereal diseases or had had them. Traditional social structures and family cohesion among the urban population are breaking up more and more. Taboos and long-standing norms are disappearing. Young people, especially, feel the effects of this lack of orientation.

AIDS

The tragic deaths of mothers and the spread of AIDS - especially in Africa - leave two million new orphans every year. In Uganda, where according to the AIDS monitoring programme about 10 per cent of the population is infected, Germany supports the setting up and expansion of primary health services in the West Ugandan districts of Kabarole and Bundibugyo. The health facilities there were largely destroyed during the civil war, so that today they are hardly in a position to care for all patients, let alone start information campaigns on AIDS. Therefore, within the framework of a GTZ project, the government undertakes in-school information campaigns on AIDS - both population problems - and gives further training to health personnel. Besides that, structures are created so far as possible for the care of AIDS patients in their family surroundings.

Africa is hit worse by AIDS than all other areas in the world. In East Africa, once the cradle of humankind, three million women are already infected, and at least a quarter of the babies there have the virus when they are born. The

development cooperation organisation AMREF/Germany, African Medical Research Foundation, has taken up the fight against the further spread of the disease. The AMREF project team against AIDS in Tanzania is concentrating its work first of all on information and the supply of condoms. AMREF's Dr Laukamm-Josten reports that both are lacking, and especially money. "For bush families, the ten dollars for the yearly ration are in part prohibitive," he says.

Only children that are wanted

Do the women know that they can improve their life situation by family planning? Do they really want family planning? A GTZ survey in Bangladesh, where women on average have 5.4 children, found that 68 per cent of the women who had three children wanted no more. More than 70 per cent of African women want either longer intervals between births or no more children. In the Philippines, the present birth rate of 4.13 per cent would drop to 2.73 per cent if the women alone had the decision on having children. They have recognised the correlation between family planning and health.

> "It has been proven without doubt that a sustainable decline in infant mortality almost always also leads to a more frequent use of contraceptives and finally to a decline in the birth rate. .... if it were possible to use all possibilities to improve the health of children and lower infant mortality this would not only be important progress in itself, but also a contribution to the lowering of the birth rate."
> UNICEF/Grant, James P. (Hg.): On the situation of the children in the world 1994, 1993, p.51f.

In Lomé, the capital of the West African state Togo, the maternal mortality rate of 420 women to 100,000 live births is well below the national average. However, in the city's poor quarter of Bé, with its difficult living conditions and only one health centre for its 160,000 inhabitants, the rate is considerably higher than that. The GTZ here is implementing the project "Mother and child care in the Bé health centre". In the first phases of the project the

agency financed a new building and set up a maternity centre. At present, the health care of mothers and children is mainly to be improved, such as care of the pregnant, outpatient midwifery, monitoring of infants' weight and growth, routine examinations, nutrition advice and immunisation campaigns. During inpatient midwifery the mothers are also taught about contraception and motivated to extend the intervals between births.

III. Population growth and environment, agriculture, food

Destruction of the environment is not a new phenomenon in the history of humankind. In their striving for a "better" life people have always damaged ecosystems and exterminated whole species. But humankind today is in an incomparably more dramatic situation. The destruction of the natural environment is taking place faster, more radically and more extensively than ever before due to scientific progress, technological-industrial possibilities and population growth. There is a great danger that an exponentially growing world population will rob itself of its own foundation of life.

It is true that, per capita, the people in the industrialised countries cause considerably more damage to the environment than those in the developing countries, especially with respect to changes in the Earth's atmosphere and the "glasshouse effect". But two trends in the developing countries additionally heighten the danger to the environment. On the one hand, a catching-up industrialisation with environmentally degrading technologies can be observed in many places. Outdated coal-fired power stations or steel plants ruin whole tracts of land by harmful emissions. On the other hand, because of the demographic pressure the poorest people in many countries are forced to over-use natural resources in order to survive.

In the Sahel zone, for example, one of the ecologically most sensitive regions of the world, the growing population pressure has led to increased deforestation and overgrazing. This has been followed by a lowering of the groundwater table and reduction of soil fertility, with which the advance of the desert began.

What is alarming for the world public is above all the destructive exploitation of the tropical rainforests. Almost half of the original 1.6 billion hectares of tropical forest was destroyed in this century. In the 1980s alone, 17 million hectares were lost every year. Thereby the interests of timber dealers, small farmers and poor people in search of firewood work together in different ways. The result is soil erosion, the forming of limestone regions, mud landslides, floods and the destruction of the Earth's "green lung". The decisive factor in the worldwide destruction of the tropical forests is thereby the strong population growth. The UNFPA estimates that the increased demographic pressure and its resulting necessary expansion of arable land causes up to 79 per cent of the deforestation.

Enough food for all?

Ernst Zurek, the German agro-sociologist and United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) expert, describes the food problem for the growing world population as a "race between the stork and the plough". This race is not yet lost because - seen in global terms - enough food is being produced at present to theoretically supply everyone. That millions of people suffer from constant under- or malnutrition and are also again and again the victims of famines is also a distribution problem. But the rapid population growth makes a clear increase of agricultural production imperative, not only regionally, but also globally. The methods for that are partly uncertain, and partly controversial. Whether the successes of the "Green Revolution" which in past decades achieved a considerable

increase, above all in rice production in Asia, can be continued is still an open question. A substantial expansion of arable land comes up against natural limits. In 2050, only 1.165 hectares of cultivable land per head of population will be available. And only the future will show whether the fears of, or the hopes placed in, gene technology will prove to be justified.

Precisely because of the growing world population, which is dependent upon sustainably secured food bases, is it necessary in the long run to farm in harmony with Nature. All the more important are experiments to develop site-appropriate agricultural systems such as the GTZ, on behalf of the BMZ, has promoted over many years in Ruanda and other African states.

IV. Population development and urbanisation - economy - employment

One of the clearest signs of economic and social structural problems in the Third World is its rapidly increasing urbanisation - the uncontrolled growth of megacities with their enormous belts of slum quarters with almost no infra-structure. Whether the latter are called "favelas", "clongs", bidonvilles" or "shanty towns", the cities of the Third World are growing two to three times as fast as the entire population, and this growth is to be credited almost exclusively to the proliferation of these extended slums. No less than 72 per cent of the urban households formed in the developing countries in the 1980s was located in slums. Four-fifths of the inhabitants of Addis Ababa and Cairo live in the poorest conditions. In Dar es Salaam and Lagos, Bombay and New Delhi, more than half of the people live so. Worldwide, 1.2 billion people live in slum quarters in the most confined spaces without appropriate supplies of drinking water, electricity and hygienic and sanitary facilities.

Causes of flight from the land

What drives people to the cities in which the air is more polluted by car exhausts and industrial gases than in Los Angeles, and in which most of the waste water and rubbish is "disposed" of at the cost of the environment? Despite everything, the chances of survival in the cities are better than in the country. And, in view of the neglect of rural development, starving farmers - especially during droughts - often have no other choice than to migrate to the cities. Here are concentrated hospitals and schools, so that the urban infant mortality rate is much lower than the average in the country.

The exodus from the land and the high birth rates in the cities add up to a strain on public resources that is already overtaxing the national economies of the poorest countries. They are finding it very difficult to cope with providing the rapidly growing number of people with training and employment, health care, food, and transport and social infrastructures. For more and more young people it will be increasingly difficult to find a training place or even a job. The neglect and hopelessness of the street kids of Rio and Manila and child prostitution and juvenile gang crime are a shocking indication of the overtaxing of the economic societies of many developing countries when it comes to providing their growing generation with security, education, health care and work, and thereby a life of human dignity.

In development cooperation it is therefore on the one hand about tackling the causes of the flight from the land and giving village populations perspectives on incomes and a dignified human life through rural development programmes. On the other, family planning is necessary in urban centres and in the country to work together with health and urban development projects in order to improve the life quality of mothers, children and young people in the long-term.

Rural development

In many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America a majority of the rural people lives on the edge of the poverty line. Rural development projects should include them in an economic and social development process that so far has often been concentrated on urban centres.

Rural development aims at a sustainably effective improvement of the people's living conditions based on:

- economic and social self-determination while having regard to cultural independence;
- diversified and site-appropriate, i.e. unharmful to resources, farming, forestry and fishery;
- efficient physical and social infrastructures;
- independent, decentrally placed craft workshops and small production enterprises.

These points also include possibilities for the expansion of productive and paid work for a part of the rural population. Rural development can also have a balancing effect on the economic and social field of tension between urban centres and rural regions by expanding non-agricultural workplaces for rural people. An unrestricted exodus from the land must be worked against.

There are no generally applicable models for solutions for rural development projects. Every project is adapted to the respective local conditions and structures. Measures which contribute to food security by the people's own efforts and thereby to an increase and diversification of agricultural produce, forestry and fishery are especially important. So, too, are those which build up an efficient infrastructure, including energy supply and crafts and small business workshops. Measures in the health system are just as much one of the basic pillars of rural development as the entire educational area.

The German government follows the principle of "help for self-help" also in its efforts to get development processes going in rural areas. This involves the requirement that the partner countries themselves create the necessary political-social preconditions for rural development.

Work in town and country

In many Third World countries, regional food security in the country is endangered by the export-oriented production of big "agro-factories". It is true that these earn foreign currencies, but they often give small farmers no chance of survival. In addition, food prices are often held artificially low in order to supply the low-income city dwellers to some extent. So it doesn't pay the small farmer to increase production and produce surpluses. A Sudanese intellectual summed up the agricultural policies of many developing countries precisely: "If the cities starve there is revolution; if the farmers starve there are only the dead."

How exemplary help for self-help, the promotion of women, family planning, environmental protection and economic development can be linked with each other has been shown by a women's project in Mysore, Central India, supported by the German Andheri-Hilfe (a non-governmental development cooperation organisation based in Bonn). Andheri-Hilfe has promoted projects in social work, education, agricultural and village development, and health on the Indian subcontinent for many years, and orients itself on the needs of the poorest population groups. However, it was neither the Andheri helpers nor the employees of the project executing agency, the Organisation for the Development of People in Mysore, but the women of the Andheri-promoted self-help initiative Mahilodaya who formulated 12 self-obligations. These include the pledges: "We want to have no more than two children in our families, whether boys or girls. None of the girls is to marry before she is 18, and no boy before he is 21. To protect the environment and in

the fight against drought, ten new trees must be planted and looked after for every one that is felled. Every woman will make efforts to earn money from handicrafts activities in order to be independent." More than 5,000 women have so far committed themselves voluntarily to these principles.

In the Philippines, the urban population is growing by about 3.9 per cent a year. By 2000 every second Filipino will live in a big city. In view of this development the Philippines government in 1990 adopted a new family planning programme which is being implemented with international support. The GTZ, on behalf of the German government, is engaged in expanding public health services, developing a needs-appropriate urban primary health system and creating a municipally-supported service offer in family planning above all in the slum quarters of the cities Bacolod (364,000 inhabitants), on the island of Negros, Iloilo (309,000) on Panay, and Zamboango (442,000) on Mindanao. The GTZ experts thereby work closely together with local groups and local representatives of national groups and organisations which are active in the fields of family planning, health and urban development.

V. Family planning: beginnings - problems - prospects

Against the background of the world population's accelerating growth, understanding of the necessity and urgency of an active family planning policy in the Third World has grown continually in recent decades. Whereas in the early 1960s resentments against population policies were still to the fore among many politicians of developing countries - and African governments in particular rejected every policy to limit births as "neo-colonialism" and "genocide by bloodless means" - the ever faster growth of their populations in following years was increasingly recognised as a problem.

Representatives of 136 states met in Bucharest in 1974 for the first World Population Conference. They adopted a world population action plan which emphasised the right of every sovereign state to establish principles for a national population policy. These principles were to have regard for the respective social, cultural, religious and economic conditions. The guideline of population policy was the declared goal of improving the life quality of people. Many of the developing countries' delegations in Bucharest voiced the view that "development is the best contraceptive". Even the problem of rapid population growth was still seen wholly in the context of "catching-up development".

Those delegations, oriented on the model of western industrial societies, believed that with the development of infrastructure and through industrialisation projects, economic growth corresponding to that of the rich North could also be achieved in the Third World. The prosperity which would go with that would change fertility behaviour, and the birth rates would also adjust to those of the industrial countries. However, the second World Population Conference, which took place 10 years later in Mexico City, was confronted with the fact that since Bucharest the global population had grown by 770 million, 90 per cent of which was accounted for by the developing countries.

This stunning reality contributed to the disappearance of reservations over an active family planning policy. The principles of the world population action plan were affirmed, and it was emphatically recommended that the causes and consequences of fertility behavior be investigated by social-scientific research in order to set up efficient family planning services. The message now was: "Undesired high fertility impairs the health and well-being of individual persons and families...and in many countries hinders social and economic progress." There was a new awareness that not even a successful economic and social

development policy could replace a determined strategy for lowering the birth rate.

Family planning and population policy in the development cooperation of the German Federal government

Population policy has also become a priority in the German government's development policy. The BMZ's annual report on development policy for 1992 said: "The Federal government has declared the population policy/family planning sector...to be a focal point of its development cooperation." The government more than doubled its financial inputs to the area of family planning from 1990 to 1993, increasing its disbursements from DM 74 million to about DM 160 million. Assistance is applied where the actual causes of the too-rapid population growth are located, namely in the lack of family planning services and the bad economic and social situation of the people. Thereby special attention is paid to the measures being based on the voluntary participation of people, and that their human dignity is assured.

In line with its "Population Policy and Family Planning Concept" which was presented in 1991 and has also won great international recognition, the government supports and promotes the population policy efforts of many developing countries in order to secure their economic, social and not least also ecological capability to survive. The individual is at the centre of all population policy measures, which are aimed at changing reproductive behaviour. Thereby indirect and direct measures complement each other in a "double strategy".

The reproductive behaviour of people can be influenced indirectly, but thoroughly effectively, by orientation on their basic needs such as health, education and food supply. The strengthening of the role of women and the improvement of their situation is thereby particularly important because in the final analysis the number of births

depends upon their capability for self-determination and their self-confidence.

Direct family planning projects which promote the "free and self-responsible decision of an informed couple on the number of their children and the intervals between births" (BMZ, 1991), and its realisation by the use of effective contraception methods, are embedded mostly in health projects, and seldom in those covering education, food security or women, in order to increase their effectiveness. Family planning is also dependent upon these health infrastructures as most contraception methods require medical examination and care.

With its population policy measures, the German government pursues together with its Third World partners a number of targets which in fact are not independent of each other, but are located at different levels. The global and regional goal of the policy to limit population growth is, for example, protection of the environment. Improving the development conditions of the developing countries is respectively primarily a national target. But the population policy double strategy of the German government also aims directly at improving the individual life possibilities of people. Family planning projects serve directly the self-realisation of people in the sense of responsible parenthood and correspond with the right of people to self-determination on family planning which, *inter alia*, is enshrined in the UN Declaration on Human Rights of 1968.

Outlook for Cairo

In its catalogue of demands on the World Population Conference in Cairo, the German World Population Foundation, founded in 1991 and based in Hanover, connects two points. On the one hand it calls for the acceleration of the "necessary, long-lasting processes of change in attitudes and behaviour...with respect to the life and production style in the prosperous nations", and on the other for

the early provision of the US$ 10-20 billion "which is necessary to satisfy the growing demand for family planning services". Indeed, some things could founder because of a lack of money as the industrial countries have so far refused to be nailed down to committing certain sums to population programmes. Charlotte Höhn, the director of the German Federal Institute for Population Research, sums up sceptically: "The developing countries will put only two questions to the industrial nations in Cairo. Namely, how many immigrants are you prepared to receive and under what conditions, and how much money will you invest in population policy activities?"

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Excerpts from World Population Reports

"A lasting decline of fertility can only be achieved by the mass use of modern contraception methods on a voluntary basis. Therefore the expansion of the offer of family planning services has become a priority target of international development programmes, and in fact on the one hand as an independent goal, but on the other also in order to advance other development efforts. ... In contrast to all previous generations of women in developing countries, the mothers of today, according to their own statements, would like to have fewer children."
UNFPA, World Population Report 1991.

"Even if by a miracle fertility tomorrow would decrease everywhere to reproduction level, the world population would still grow by 2.5 to 3 billion because the children of today (the largest age group in history) will be adults and have children of their own. This means a growth in the order of magnitude of the entire world population in 1960. ... The extent of the additional population growth, however, depends entirely on the measures we take in the future. The medium prognosis assumes that a woman in the developing countries in the year 2000 will on average have about 3.3 children."
UNFPA, World Population Report 1992.

"Families and households in a society form the basis for economic growth, social development and personal fulfilment. The personal decision of women and men on marriage, family and the place where they want to live shape the fate of local communities and states. National policies and international general conditions form the context for the decisions of individuals. An effective development policy, which also encompasses population issues, sexual medicine and family planning, comes to terms with this reality."
UNFPA, World Population Report 1993